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PRELIMINARY ANNOUNCEMENT

FALL MEETING

OF

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

Saturday, November 27, 1948

10:30 A.M.

Chalfonte-Haddon Hall

Atlantic City, New Jersey

(The program of the meeting will be published early in November)

PINDAR'S FOURTH PYTHIAN ODE

It is generally recognized that the Fourth Pythian¹ stands apart from the other works of Pindar which have come down to us. The most striking special characteristic is, of course, its unparalleled length; thirteen triads against a maximum elsewhere of five, with eight triads given to the central myth. But sheer length is not the only respect in which it is unique, since such length in itself involves qualitative differences in narrative style. Again, the circumstances are exceptional. The Fourth and Fifth Pythians were both written to commemorate the same victory of Arcesilas, King of Cyrene. The Fifth was apparently commissioned in the normal way by Arcesilas himself; the Fourth, by Damophilus, an exiled nobleman (who is not mentioned in *Pythia* 5). The only parallel in the matter of two odes written for the same occasion is found in the Second and Third Olympians, for Theron of Acragas. But the parallel is superficial. Both Olympians are concerned solely with Theron, though they differ greatly in form and tone; but in the Fourth Pythian, Pindar closes with an urgent plea for the restoration of the banished Damophilus. In this matter of strong extended argument addressed to the recipient, there is again only one clear parallel, and again it is superficial. This is *Pythia* 1, in which at the close Deinomenes, or Hieron,² is warned against meanness and cruelty. But the cases are quite different, though there are points of similarity. For in the Fourth Pythian the recipient, Arcesilas, is urged not, like Deinomenes, to the general practice of certain virtues, but to a specific action, namely, reconciliation with Damophilus, who ordered and paid for the ode. All these facts are common property; but if the circumstances of the poem, the plea for Damophilus, and the character of the myth, are analysed and then considered not as isolated manifestations but in conjunction, it may be that we can deepen somewhat our knowledge of the poem.

It will then be necessary to begin with a general analysis. The ode opens (1-8) with an invocation to the Muse that draws together in one strophe Arcesilas and Cyrene, Apollo and Pytho,

the prophecy to Battus and the foundation of the city, and the victory of Arcesilas (2: *κορμάζοντι σὺν Ἀρκείλῳ*); all the chief subjects of the poem save the main myth to come, and Damophilus. Immediately and without pause or lapse, the prophecy to Battus introduces us to the earlier prediction of Medeia, and we find ourselves in the preliminary myth (9-58); a piece of the voyage of the Argonauts, subsequent in time to episodes of that story which are to be recounted later. Through Medeia's words spoken at Thera Pindar tells of the Argo in Libya, the appearance of Triton, the offering of the clod and its acceptance by Euphamus, its loss overboard and restoration to Thera. So the colonization by the descendants of Euphamus and the Minyae is delayed. This piece turns out to be a kind of overture; we are in the story of the Argonauts and the golden fleece; and the link has been forged connecting Euphamus and the Minyae to Cyrene, Battus, and Arcesilas. It is to these that we return, briefly (59-69), to the theme of Battus and his destiny, and the latest of his descendants.

Here, with some alteration in the final epode (63-69) a complete ode might have ended. What we have is three triads, with a central 'myth' more full than many in Pindar. Before the prophecy of Medeia we have, in fact, one strophe's measure in which to find ourselves; but the extreme brevity of this introduction to so large an ode is explained in the fact that the first three triads, almost in themselves a complete piece, serve as proem to the work as a whole. So we end, with a formal dedication to Battus.³

What follows is the real myth (70-254): opened not, as commonly, with a relative clause pulling narrated legend smoothly close to, and almost overlapping, occasion and dedication,⁴ but consciously and formally in the epic style, the rhetorical questioning cry for the first author (70):

τίς γὰρ ἀρχὰ δέξατο ναυτιλίας;

This recalls clearly the Homeric

*τίς τ' ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;*⁵

We expect the Homeric style in the tale to follow, and there is much there in the epic tradition: the magnificently easy metre with its rippling dactyls, the long-drawn and leisurely dialogues,

the impulsive disregard for nicety in matters of time and economics, the trick of changing from simple narrative to direct address of the characters named,⁶ above all, the sustained tale of heroic events. Nevertheless, Pindar's story is not really told in the epic, but in the lyric manner; it dissolves on scrutiny into a series of some ten separate consecutive scenes. Thus we have the coming of Jason and his discovery to Pelias (70-119); his homecoming and the gathering of the kinsmen (120-135); the confrontation of Jason and Pelias, with the challenge to win the fleece (135-168); the gathering of the heroes (169-187); the departure, with prayer and the blessing of Zeus, of the Argo (188-202); the dedication of an altar to Poseidon and the passage of the Symplegades (203-211); arrival at Phasis and fighting with the Colchians (211-213); for all its brevity, this is a separate episode; the fashioning of Aphrodite's magic wheel, and Medeia's surrender (214-223); the yoking of the oxen (224-241); the slaying of the dragon (241-246).

The story of Jason does not end here, nor is Pindar's tale quite ended. The next passage (247-262) is half transitional, half narrative. The last scene or episode is, in fact, unfinished; the poet breaks in; he is being too long on the way, he must cut it short. So he resumes, rapidly: the death of the dragon and the flight of Medeia (the actual winning of the fleece is not even mentioned), the voyage into the Ocean Stream and the Red Sea, the taking of the Lemnian women; then history, from a Lemnian girl the race engendered of Euphamus; their wanderings to Lacedaemon, Thera, Libya; the high lineage and the high responsibilities of the house of Battus.

Thus we are swept in a few lines back into the present, to Arcesilas and, significantly, to the problems that attend his kingship (259-262):

From there, Leto's son has granted to you and yours the plain of Libya, for you to increase by the god's award; the divine city of Cyrene the golden-throned to administer, while you can discover the right counsel of rule.

There follow the moralizing parable of the tree of Oedipus (263-269); an exhortation to mild rule and patient stewardship (270-276); and

direct pleading for the recall of Damophilus (277-299). Parable, paraenesis, and special pleading are not always distinguishable in Pindar; here we pass directly from one to another; and here we end.

Let us return to the myth,⁷ and consider the possible meaning of its length and the manner in which it is handled. As to its length, which gives corresponding compass to the entire ode, a penetrating critic of Pindar has remarked: 'In the length of the myth nothing more is to be seen than the costliness of the offering. If the poem was to be long, the myth must needs be long.'⁸ Perhaps: but this leaves much unanswered. Pindar had many rich patrons, some of whom he wished greatly to please, but never gave them anything this size. It may be that in such odes as the Fourth and Fifth Olympians, the Seventh Pythian, or the Second Nemean, the brief compass means a comparatively small fee (though who would expect Megacles, the Alemaeonid, to be so poor or so frugal?). It is equally likely that such poems were short because they were ordered on short notice, with no time allowed for elaboration. Again, there is no reason to recoil from the belief that Pindar (or Simonides) had prices very much in mind; Pindar practically tells us as much.⁹ But as for length, Pindar complains rather of being cut short by rule, contract, or taste.¹⁰ And it can at least be argued that here the length and elaboration of the myth has some point besides being expensive, or just measure for a high price paid.

Still, even granting that the extended myth is here motivated, perhaps, by the grandeur of the occasion, and an opportunity seldom offered in the epinicians to spin out the dazzling sequences of heroic legend, the myth remains extraordinary not only for size, but emphasis and focus as well. As the style of narrative is lyric, not epic, so there is no single real innovation in detailed technique. The scene or tableau so characteristic here is used elsewhere: Pelops going down to the edge of the sea to invoke Poseidon,¹¹ Typhon writhing under the mountain,¹² the pale procession of sick men who came to Asclepius for healing,¹³ Euadne in the wilderness with her child and Iamus wading in midstream to invoke his father's grace.¹⁴ There are plenty of these

vivid scenes in Pindar. The difference is that elsewhere, in their respective myths, these pictures make up almost the whole tale, or are chosen to symbolize and illuminate the whole. We find no such continuous driving narrative elsewhere. The catalogue of the first heroic Olympic victors¹⁵ comes close to being mere chronicle, rather dull for Pindar. In the myth of Pelops, the tale, colorful enough, is crossed and recrossed deliberately with moralities that break up the flow of narrative. There is nothing else like this.

The continuity of focus in extended myth is due mainly to the fact that it is dominated throughout by the single figure of Jason as no other poem of Pindar is dominated by Heracles, Peleus, or Aias. It is Jason's appearance that answers the ringing questions in the myth's opening, and thereafter he holds almost exclusively the center of the stage. He is a mortal, the divine progenitors in his ancestry are relatively remote, but the demigods¹⁶ of his fellowship are minor and shaded figures in his background. Pelias, Medeia, and Aeetes are his foils, though they are closer to the gods than he.

Again, the tale of the winning of the fleece becomes the story of Jason's achievements. As we have seen, by no means the whole story is told here. It was not new,¹⁷ nor is there any reason to suppose that Pindar was ignorant of many details recorded by, for instance, Apollonius Rhodius. At all events, he knew of the murder of Pelias (250) and of Medeia in Corinth.¹⁸ But the sordid ends of the story are simply lopped off with the excuse of time's pressure. The gruesome murder of Absyrtus is suppressed, that of Pelias is mentioned by way of a subordinate clause.¹⁹ It was not Pindar's habit simply to be silent about such matters or to evade them; he does not recoil from mentioning the murder of Phocus by the Aeacidae,²⁰ the panic-stricken flight of Amphiaras,²¹ the murder of Licymnius by Tlepolemus.²² But here, despite the unmistakable note of warning in the counsels to Arcesilas at the close, such dark and tortured figures as attend the odes to Hieron—Tantalus, Ixion, Typhon, Coronis and Asclepius—are absent. The tone is cheerful, confident, and young, sounded in the *ὑπερθύμων*

of the invocation, sustained in the adventurous love of danger for its own sake that motivates the manning of the Argo (184–187). Incidents are singled out which highlight the purely human strength, courage, or courtesy of Jason. The slaying of the dragon by Medeia's guile rather than by Jason's force of hand, is hurried over (249); the yoking of the oxen (232–238) is in full color, a dramatic feat of mortal strength,²³ though the hero is immortally guarded from the magic flames. The exploits of the demigods of the Argo are omitted. Apart from these, there were other beloved heroes, such as Peleus and Meleager, who might have challenged Jason's supremacy or clouded the picture. Even their names are gone from the account.

In view of all this, it is difficult to realize that Pindar's material is essentially the same as that from which Euripides could with equal justice extract a character whose chief asset was his appeal to women, and whose successes were due entirely to his assurance of feminine aid, whether human or divine. That Pindar's brilliant Jason is here plausible, and seems inevitable, is an achievement of deliberate art.

Thus in the Fourth Pythian as nowhere else in Pindar we find the idealization of the legendary hero. It is all the more pertinent to ask and to answer a question which would have to be dealt with in any case: Why this hero, and why this legend, at all? In most of the epinicians some reasonably good explanation of the choice of myth appears. Always remembering that one good reason does not exclude others, we may study this point somewhat, since it is crucial. The legend may be a piece of the victor's family traditions out of the heroic age, or part of the saga of guardian heroes in the land from whom noble families claim descent. So in all epinicians for Aeginetan victors the Aeacidae are central, except in the Eighth Pythian, where there seems to be a special reason for giving the myth to Alcmaeon, while the Aeacidae are still impressively invoked at the end. Indeed, Pindar tells us that an Aeginetan ode dictated the presence of the Aeacidae.²⁴ On similar grounds, the choice of Iamus,²⁵ Tlepolemus,²⁶ or Deucalion and Pyrrha²⁷ is obvious.

That the heroes in the land presented themselves is shown further in the case of the Thirteenth Olympian, the Tenth Nemean, and the Seventh Isthmian; Corinth, Argos, and Thebes evoke such a multitude of heroic names that Pindar must ask himself where to begin. The games at which victory was won can with more or less relevancy motivate the myth; so Pelops in the First Olympian, the primaeval victor list of the Tenth Olympian. We are on less certain ground in cases where the legendary hero seems to project some likeness or parallel to the hero of the games. Thrasyboulus recalls Antilochus,²⁸ since he risked the chariot race on behalf of his aged father, though the analogy is strained too thin; Chromius may well recall Heracles,²⁹ since for each a life of hard work and hard knocks is followed by rest, honor, and happiness at the end. Or the likeness may be underlined and marked. Hieron, sick but powerful still, is as Philoctetes,³⁰ Melissus is a surprising fighter as Heracles was,³¹ Epharmostus relives the description of Opus, his forefather.³² Similar in style, but differing as 'is' differs from 'should be', is the use—generally brief and without narrative—of legendary heroes as embodiments of virtue and examples for study, as Cinyras,³³ Nestor and Sarpedon,³⁴ Amphiaras;³⁵ or of vice, as Bellerophon,³⁶ Ixion,³⁷ Porphyryon;³⁸ or of virtue set against vice, as Croesus and Phalaris symbolize the two ways at whose crossing Deinomenes stands so that he must choose one or the other.³⁹ In any case, it was clear to Pindar that the myth must be motivated, not casual; so that after the glaringly inapposite tale of the House of Atreus in the Eleventh Pythian the poet disarms criticism by confessing that he went astray.⁴⁰

Why, then, Jason? Cyrene was a Thessalian nymph and Jason a Thessalian hero, but there seems to be nothing else to connect them, and this is hardly enough. He has nothing in particular to do with the Pythian games. He is ancestor to the house of Arcesilas only insofar as he is of the Minyae, from whom Arcesilas is descended, and the Minyae are the Argonauts.⁴¹ In this line of blood Battus and Euphamus stand far nearer. Battus, toward whom Pindar

uses extreme courtesy, appears in the invocation (4-8), in the transition to the main myth (50-68), and at the end (280); he is central in *Pythia* 5. But Battus is after all a comparatively dim figure. Euphamus has his moment in the fore-myth and is pivotal to the swing into the tale of the Argonauts as in the return thence; but during the narrative he must lapse into the background, for the winning of the fleece is not his story. Euphamus serves as a link, less tenuous than might be supposed, between Arcesilas and Jason, but he does not account in full for Jason. There remains myth as parallel or precept.

To recall briefly the circumstances of the ode: Damophilus, possibly a kinsman of Arcesilas, was banished from Cyrene as the result of a quarrel.⁴² During his exile he met Pindar in Thebes, and when Arcesilas' chariot, driven by Carrhotus, won a spectacular victory at Pytho, Damophilus commissioned Pindar to write this special ode in addition to that which was ordered by Arcesilas himself. We are not forced to believe that the reconciliation had been arranged before the ode was written or sung;⁴³ in any case, it was effected, at least in name. We are, however, forced to believe that the difference between the two great men transcended the bounds of a purely personal quarrel. There were tremors at least of stasis when the Fourth Pythian was written,⁴⁴ and stasis, not long afterward, was to cost Arcesilas his life.⁴⁵ It is hard to disconnect these upheavals from the issue between the King and Damophilus.

There is one theme that repeats itself incessantly throughout the poem. As the Seventh Olympian is dominated by the motif of good fortune disposed by God's blessing despite mistakes committed, and the Second Olympian by the thought of brief spells of calm won only after sorrow and guilt, so throughout the Fourth Pythian recurs the theme of enterprise or restoration put aside, long delayed, and at last accomplished. It echoes in repeated words, ἀγκομίσαι (9), ἀγκομίζων (106), κομίξαι (159), χρόνον (55, 78, 258, 291). The restoration of their patrimony to Aeson and his son, the laying of Phrixus' ghost and the bringing home of the

fleece, are long delayed. It took time before the Titans were set free, and Atlas may be forgiven yet, but he has waited long. The tree of Oedipus proves itself only with time. The magic clod is washed astray, and generations are lost before the children of Euphamus come back to claim their heritage. They should have gone with the Danaans at the time of the Return of the Heracleidae, itself later than it should have been.⁴⁶ Here we have gone really beyond Pindar. Delays are scattered throughout the history of Cyrene, echoed in the story of Jason and Triton and the unfulfilled colonization, which Herodotus tells (4. 179) but Pindar does not, and again in the story of Battus' own colonization, accidental, hesitant, and slow of achievement.⁴⁷ The end has been good for Cyrene, but it would have been still better otherwise. Had Pelias not obstructed the return of Jason, it would not have meant murder and wretchedness; had Euphamus gone first to Poseidon at Taenarus, his children would have been Danaans, not crossed with the Lemnian strain.⁴⁸ But Damophilus does not (like Pelias) speak rudely or bitterly, cross the will of good men, nor slow the course of achievement (283-286); nor did Carrhotus bring home Excuse, the daughter of Afterthought (*Pyth.* 5. 27-28). Arcesilas has his warning, and he has his examples beside him.

For since the return of Damophilus has been too long put off, the drift of the moral is unmistakable. This does not mean that Jason is Damophilus, that Arcesilas is Pelias. We have seen that a parallel between victor-hero and myth-hero can seldom be drawn closely. It must never be strained. Yet here it is the Tree, which is Oedipus,⁴⁹ that represents Damophilus, which like Atlas shoulders the cruel weight far from its own place (267-269; 289-290). Jason, his story and his character, while not alien to the legends of the Battiad line, is precept, unparalleled in extension. Pindar has here set out to illustrate at length the ideal hero, his beauty, strength, wisdom, and courtesy; elsewhere Peleus, Aeacus, Ajax give us glimpses, but this is a full-size portrait. Hence the extraordinary scope, but hence also the incomplete story, since

Pindar has cut, rearranged, and shifted emphasis in order to preserve his hero complete. Such a man Arcesilas might be, for Jason is no god nor a god's son. His virtues are human and attainable, though such attainment is not easy.

Arcesilas, it may have seemed to Pindar, embodied untold possibilities. He had youth, strength, many accomplishments;⁵⁰ and above all, wealth, without which, Pindar held, man could do little. Wealth means power. So the Fifth Pythian (1-4):

Ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής,
ὅταν τις ἀρετῇ κεκραμένον καθαρῶ
βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμον παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ
πολύφιλον ἐπέταν

and again (12-13):

σοφοὶ δέ τοι κάλλιον
φέροντι καὶ τὰν θεόσδοτον δύναμιν.

πλοῦτος and δύναμις are almost equivalent. Pindar elaborates this often. ἀλλὰ πολὺς ἐστὶν ἐγζωμάζων τὸν πλοῦτον, says the scholiast.⁵¹ But wealth gives power for evil as well as for good; Deinomenes, perhaps a less promising character than Arcesilas, must remember Croesus, but must not forget Phalaris, who was rich also.⁵² Were Pindar rich and powerful, he hopes he would leave a great name after him.⁵³ Wealth is responsibility;⁵⁴ also, it must be honorably won. The opening of the Fifth Pythian recalls Sappho:

ὁ πλοῦτος ἀνευ<θ> ἀρέτας οὐκ ἀσίνης πάροιχος.⁵⁵
But closer yet is Solon:

χρήματα δ' ἰμεῖρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
 οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.
 πλοῦτον δ' ὃν μὲν δώσει θεοί, παραγίνεται ἀνδρὶ
 ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτον πνυθμένος ἐς κορυφήν
 ὃν δ' ἄνδρες μετίωσιν ὑφ' ὕβριος, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον
 ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῖς ἔργμασι πειθόμενος
 οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔπεται, ταχέως δ' ἀναμίσγεται αἴτη.⁵⁶

What Solon explains in his more pedestrian way is half-allegorized here. We see, not wealth won by guile or brutality which comes against its own nature, protesting; but a dear and willing companion (a bride almost?) led home after divine bestowal. Such wealth, with its brilliant promise and its peril, is at Arcesilas' dis-

posal; except that the ultimate power rests, as always, with God.⁵⁷

For the peril was there, and overshadows the close of the Fourth Pythian. Arcesilas is a wise and gentle surgeon who can heal the gash left where the limb was lopped off; above all he, like Damophilus and Carrhotus, can act quickly (270-271):

But you are the timeliest healer, and Paeon honors you with his light. You should treat the infection of this wound by applying a gentle hand.

By saying that he is timely Pindar is urging him to timeliness under disguise of the indicative and expressed fact, since such healing must be through the restoration of Damophilus, and the wound was inflicted by Arcesilas himself. In their quarrel the power lay with Arcesilas, but perhaps not the right. His very virtues might lead him astray, since new glories lift a man's hopes to dare beyond his strength.⁵⁸ Arcesilas must prove that his undoubted splendors were more than show; he must realize mature judgment in healing the city and above all, since the danger was imminent and deadly, he must not give way to the procrastination that haunted the destiny of Cyrene. There is an undertone of terrible urgency near the close. But Pindar must not argue too much; and before he comes to that at the end, he can set the example of wisdom and temperance, together with reckless valor, before his listeners through the shining myth of Jason.

NOTES

¹ For the recent literature on Pindar, see the bibliography in G. Norwood, *Pindar*, Berkeley, 1945. In preparing this paper I have given particular attention to this work and to the commentaries of Gildersleeve, von Wilamowitz, and Farnell.

² Deinomenes seems a more probable object for such counsels than Hieron, who cannot, however, be excluded. The Second and Third Pythians might also be cited as parallels, but in them the direction of the argument is less plain.

³ Battus rather than Arcesilas, if we are guided by the contrast of τῷ μὲν (66) and ἀπὸ δ' αὐτόν (67).

⁴ As in the pre-myth of this poem, introduced by Πυθωνί . . . ἐνθα ποτέ. Cp. *Ol.* 1.24-25: Πέλοπος . . . τοῦ: *Ol.* 3.13-14: κόσμον ἐλαίας, τάν ποτε . . . ἐνείκεν: *Pyth.* 8.38-40: λόγον φέρεις, τὸν ὄνπερ ποτ' . . . αἰνίξατο: *Nem.* 4.24-26: Ἡρακλέος . . . σὺν ᾧ ποτε . . . Τελαμών πόρθησε.

⁵ *Il.* 1.8 Cf. Herodotus 1.1: τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισιν. But compare also Pindar, *Ol.* 10.60-63.

⁶ 88-89; 174-175. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4.127; 16.20; 584-585; 692-693.

⁷ The term 'the myth' is unsatisfactory. It suggests a rigid theory of structure and limitation, a division into articulate fixed parts, as myth, moral, sphregis, etc., which cannot, in my view, be maintained (what is 'the myth' of *Olympia* 2, of *Pythia* 2?). The term is used here for convenience and simply to denote any narrative passage dealing with persons of the heroic age.

⁸ Gildersleeve, *Introd.* to the Fourth Pythian.

⁹ *Pyth.* 11. 41-44; *Isth.* 2. 6-11.

¹⁰ *Nem.* 4. 33-34. See also *Isth.* 1. 60-63; *Pyth.* 1. 81-83; *Pyth.* 8. 29-32.

¹¹ *Ol.* 1. 71-74.

¹² *Pyth.* 1. 15-28.

¹³ *Pyth.* 3. 47-53.

¹⁴ *Ol.* 6. 39-45; 57-63.

¹⁵ *Ol.* 10. 60-73.

¹⁶ The word ἡμίθεοι is emphasized (12, 184, 211); cf. ἥρωες ἀντίθεοι (58). The catalogue of the heroes who answer the summons to the Argo is confined to half-gods, arranged in order of seniority of their fathers.

¹⁷ For accounts of the Argonautica earlier than Pindar's, see Farnell's introduction to *Pythia* Four; Seeliger in Roscher, *Reallexikon* 1. 1. 510-512; von Wilamowitz 392-393.

¹⁸ *Ol.* 13. 53-54.

¹⁹ 250.

²⁰ *Nem.* 5. 13-18.

²¹ *Nem.* 9. 24-27.

²² *Ol.* 7. 24-31.

²³ Note the words ἐριπλείρω φνῶ, βιατὰς, δύνασιν.

²⁴ *Isth.* 5. 19-20; *Isth.* 6. 19-21.

²⁵ *Ol.* 6. 39-71.

²⁶ *Ol.* 7. 20-38.

²⁷ *Ol.* 9. 41-56.

²⁸ *Pyth.* 6. 28-46.

²⁹ Note the transition to the myth, *Nem.* 1. 32-33: κοινὰ γὰρ ἔρχοντ' ἐλπίδες/πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν, and with *Nem.* 1. 61-72 compare *Nem.* 9. 34-45.

³⁰ *Pyth.* 1. 50-55.

³¹ *Isth.* 4. 49-58.

³² *Ol.* 9. 65-66; 94.

³³ *Pyth.* 2. 15-17.

³⁴ *Pyth.* 3. 112-115.

³⁵ *Ol.* 6. 12-18.

³⁶ *Isth.* 7. 43-47.

³⁷ *Pyth.* 2. 21-48.

³⁸ *Pyth.* 8. 12-18.

³⁹ *Pyth.* 1. 94-98.

⁴⁰ *Pyth.* 11. 38-42; cf. *Nem.* 3. 26-27.

⁴¹ The Minyan descendents of the Argonauts come to Laedaemon ἐς τοὺς πατέρας, Herodotus 4. 145. 4.

⁴² Thus the scholiast. That Damophilus was related to Arcesilas rests only on the scholiast's authority and is not considered certain. See von Wilamowitz 376-380.

⁴³ 'It would be very innocent to suppose that P. was really pleading for a man whose pardon was not assured' (Gildersleeve on line 279). Why should it be innocent?

⁴⁴ *Pyth.* 4. 270-276 makes this plain. See also *Pyth.* 5. 120-121.

⁴⁵ Heracleides, *Pol.* 4. 4.

⁴⁶ *Pyth.* 4. 43-56 and especially 46-49. This exodus of the Danaans is surely to be connected with the Return of the Heracleidae. For this see Herodotus 9. 26; Thucydides 1. 13. Herodotus dates the Return three generations after Heracles, and Thucydides puts the Dorian Conquest 80 years (that is, two generations) after the Trojan War, so that all appear to agree.

⁴⁷ According to the Theraean account given by Herodotus, the colonization was put off on Battus by Grinnus, and the whole matter forgotten until a plague forced reconsideration (4. 150). In his Cyrenaean version, Battus consulted Delphi about his voice, and objected when ordered to colonize Libya (4. 155). He finally went, encountered difficulties, tried to return to Thera, was driven away, and colonized Platea (4. 156). It was only after another consultation of Delphi that he and his men colonized Aziris and, at last, Cyrene (4. 156-158).

⁴⁸ *Pyth.* 4. 43-53. The apodosis of *εἰ γὰρ . . . βάλει* (43) is *λάβε* (48). This delay in completing the condition gives *εἰ γὰρ . . . βάλει* the temporary appearance, and some of the character, of a wish contrary to fact rather than a protasis.

⁴⁹ So Gildersleeve; see his note on line 268.

⁵⁰ *Pyth.* 5. 107-115. I take these praises to be sincerely intended.

⁵¹ *Schol. Ol.* 1. 1.

⁵² *Pyth.* 1. 94-97.

⁵³ *Pyth.* 3. 110-111.

⁵⁴ For this general view in Pindar, see further *Ol.* 2. 53-56; *Ol.* 13. 6-8; *Pyth.* 1. 50; *Pyth.* 2. 56.

⁵⁵ *Sappho Frag.* 92 Diehl, quoted by the scholiast on *Pyth.* 5. 1.

⁵⁶ *Solon Frag.* 1. 7-13 Diehl. Cf. also Hesiod, *Op.* 320; Pindar, *Nem.* 8. 17; *Isth.* 3. 4-6.

⁵⁷ *Pyth.* 5. 25.

⁵⁸ *Pyth.* 8. 88-94.

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FUNCTIONAL LATIN—IF AT ALL*

Furor, as you know, is one of those words whose translation challenges the students of Vergil, but call it 'madness,' 'frustration,' 'desperation,' or what you will, and roll them all into one and you approximate the feeling which prompted me to add the latter half of my title. Incidentally, I may say that it bears no perti-

nent relation to my main topic—Functional Latin—by which, as you see, I try to give the modern, if not the 'new look,' to my paper.

In a recent issue of *Time* (Dec. 15, 1947, p. 64) there appeared a column headed 'Get Adjusted,' from which the following paragraphs are excerpted:

. . . . Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, believes that educational reverence for the "white-collar myth" produces frustrated and maladjusted citizens. Why not frankly admit that most girls would be housekeepers and most men mechanics, farmers, and tradespeople—and train them accordingly?

The commissioner invited nine prominent educators to Washington to help figure out a plan. Last week his group, the Commission of Life Adjustment Education for Youth, made its first suggestions:

Said the Commission:

"Every 'life-adjusted' youth needs to master practical English, social science, physical education, basic science."

"It is a waste of time for most high-school students to read *Il Penseroso*, *Ivanhoe*, *Silas Marner* and other compulsory classics. It would be enough for many to secure "sufficient competence in reading to comprehend newspapers and magazines reasonably well." Only a gifted few can achieve any real understanding of algebra and geometry. It should, therefore, be a matter of choice whether a student takes algebra, literature, Latin, foreign languages.

"For these courses, students should be allowed to substitute part-time jobs under supervision—in department stores, drug stores, etc. (Says Studebaker: "The youth adjusted to life is adjusted to his job. . . .")" High Schools should add courses in homemaking and job-hunting.

High schools in 35 states are already working out this kind of "life adjustment" education. The next step, said the commission, is to get everybody doing it.

Prosit

By unanimous vote, the New York City Board of Education added a new evening course to its high-school curriculum. Subject: how to brew beer.

If successful in getting 'everybody to do it,' the Commission will certainly have done an inestimable service to those who wish to destroy freedom. Now those pupils whose minds can be developed only to a bare minimum have always been with us. They have been called the 'won'ts,' the 'can'ts,' and even morons; now they have become the 'adjusted-to-life.' They certainly are, for none of its problems can bother them!

These pupils have unfortunately become already the darlings of the modern educational theorists; standards have tended to be set by their level of achievement. We have so far stemmed the tide of complete annihilation, but I call this threatened inroad on what remains of the content of real education to your attention as one which needs watching and as one which demands continued, courageous, unabashed, and unapologetic opposition of all who believe that the highest common multiple in education is at least just as important as the least common denominator.

A word of warning may be given here which is worth remembering when dealing with the rank and file of present-day educators and educational theorists. What they say and what they mean are not identical. They say that they object to Latin because it is not practical—what they mean is that it is not showy and tangible in its results. 'Take it easy' is their philosophy, whether conscious or subconscious. Obstacles are anathema in the wholesale educational system of today. Problems are not to be met and honestly faced so that strength may be developed out of weakness, but all potential difficulties are to be avoided and sidetracked so that what is turned out as a well-adjusted individual is often either a moron or a bundle of festering frustration and impotence.

But granted that some of the solid core of education material does escape like mercury from the hands of the educationalists, there still remains an insidious threat to Latin which is internal rather than external. Anyone who has had occasion within the last few years to seek for a teacher of the classics realizes that Latin may well disappear from the curriculum, not so much from lack of pupils as from lack of competent teachers. Sciences and social studies have drawn the bulk of prospective teachers not only because of the natural emphasis of the times, but also because of the fostering support of the Schools of Education. While vocal in our rebuttal of anti-humanistic propaganda, we still must stand condemned for our failure to insure a continuous supply of well trained teachers. There is an obligation and challenge to teachers both in the secondary schools and in the colleges.

On the high-school level we should use all our powers of persuasion to influence as many students as possible to continue the study of Latin to a high standard of completion; and we should bend every effort to induce a few promising and interested students to give the classics a try in college. It is the responsibility of those who teach in college to retain as many of these prospective classicists as possible. Not many of them should turn away with the 'never again' attitude after a year's trial. There seems to be no reason why college Latin should be dull or should lack the spark of vitality and stimulation to fan the initial interest into flame. When the flame burns sufficiently bright to stand the comparative lack of draft in the ivory tower, all well and good; until then, there should be the breezes of personality, humor, and, above all, the life breath of the classics—inspiration.

At this point I move on without too great strain to my chief topic, Functional Latin, for, being realistic, I know that the fulfillment of my conception of Functional Latin depends upon inspiration chiefly—implemented, I hasten to add, by a strong hand. Anyone who anticipates my use of the word 'functional' as it is featured in current educational jargon is doomed to disappointment. I, for one, could not tell you how to strip every shred of meat from the bones and still retain all the vitality of a healthy living organism. No, my idea is not for Latin to be functional and die, but rather for Latin to be functional and live. I am using the term in its literal sense and on the broadest and highest plane—performing in relation to the life and conduct of the individual.

As what we call the modern program of education has developed, something more than the solid substance of subjects like Latin has disappeared. There are other specters more ghastly than the shrinking and wailing ghost of the classics; in fact, the palest and gauntest figures are those of positive character training and the development of cultural and contemplative elements. To be sure, the instilling of certain concepts for the fulfillment of life were once regarded as the natural function of the home; but the school also bore its significant share of

the task and even held this aim to be a primary one, though intangible and difficult of attainment. But with the newer theorists *doing*, rather than *being*, has become the predominant end; and the invisible goals, often involving difficult and unpleasant elements, have been discarded. Obsessed by this idea of *doing*, the educationalists have sold a bill of goods which has succeeded in involving everyone from the administrator down to the pre-school child in such a whirl of activities, projects, charts, graphs, orange-crate ten-cent stores, oatmeal-box medieval castles, and general busyness that there has been no time for thinking, much less for appraising. Does any theorist seriously seek to determine whether the product of the educational system is a well-balanced, intelligent being capable of reacting to the demands of life in a way beneficial to himself and to society? This sloughing off of responsibility by the school would be less serious if the family also had not been caught up in a similar whirl so that many a modern family resembles nothing so much as a merry-go-round where the mother reaches to catch one ring after another, the father plays one horse after another, and the children go round and round!

It is commonplace today to say that our moral and social development has not kept pace with our material and scientific progress. It is common judgment that we fail today as human and humane beings. The tale of juvenile delinquency, of racketeering and dishonesty in high places and low, of overcrowded mental institutions, of poor leadership and subservience to it, of general perversion of purpose and waste of resources, bears witness to the confusion of reason and morality which beset us. A new turn, or a return, is called for in education. And the calls are loud and insistent. You have seen and heard them as well as I. One of the latest comes from no other than Dr. Edmund W. Sinnott, Dean of the Sheffield Scientific School and Director of the Division of Sciences at Yale University:

'In an educational program we must not sell the human individual short.'

'At all events, let us see what the poet and the artist and the philosopher and the men of faith can

teach us. This may well be as significant in the long run as scientific knowledge, and we must be sure that our students have full access to it.'

'How important this is must be evident when we remember that the major problems of today are moral ones—how to make men masters of themselves, able to collaborate with others in maintaining a successful society.'

The real cause for concern lies in the fact that, at least so far as I can see, there has been so little recognition of the call. I need only remind you of Mr. Studebaker's plan.

It seems incredible, but I think I am right—not only from my own observation but also from diverse testimony—that nothing is being done for training character as a part of a recognized administrative plan of the average secondary school, nothing in the individual programs in most classrooms and very little in the majority of homes. Busyness has bred indifference, and the appalling problem in morality has grown apace.

As purveyors of the most ennobling thought of all time we should enter the lists, singly if necessary, but unashamedly and with the intent of drawing others to us in the struggle for a return to a saner type of organized education, which is the rockbed of any change. What I have to say is within the scope of all teaching everywhere and of every sort. It needs no special material, nor any new organization—heaven forbid! Conscious purpose, steadfast persistence, and moral and physical vigor are the tools. And since teachers of the classics are naturally engaged with students who may be expected to become leaders in thought and action, and since the material provided by the classics is completely adequate, their opportunities are very special and very clear.

For what remains of my time, I shall devote myself to some observations on a few of the neglected concepts. The enumeration of these will startle you from their very simplicity, yet I feel sure that if they were widely realized the effect would be even more startling.

The attitude toward work, mental and physical, is the first point of attack. A glorification of work is needed, and along with it, a realization of the necessity of discipline, both wise self-

discipline and wise enforced discipline. The 'take it easy,' 'get something for nothing,' 'some one owes me,' 'I have a right' state of mind has sapped American life of its vitalizing strength. Without the will to work hard and think hard, the stamina, especially the mental stamina of our young people, is not only dissipated but it is so perverted as to make the young sharp and superficial, not deep and resourceful. And so, if we can make our students realize the freedom and release of energy that comes with discipline and self-control, if we can impart to them the joyous thrill of mental achievement, arouse in them the desire to explore the possibilities of their own intellectual powers, inspire them with confidence in the intrinsic strength and potential capacity of their own minds, and above all, fill them with scorn for the waste of mental resources and with admiration for intellectual activity, making it seem as worthy and as rewarding as is activity expended in sport, we shall have contributed materially to the real education of any boy or girl. You will read into what I say the infinite possibilities of Latin material. Even the learning of vocabulary and of principles takes on some glamour and becomes functional for practical living—and incidentally very functional for Latin!

Another eroded area for recultivation is the field of the simple virtues, the morality area which I think is being more and more disregarded. No one realizes more acutely than a teacher of adolescent boys and girls their vague acceptance and casual observance of the traits which not so long ago were considered the *sine qua non* of any claim to moral character.

In the forefront of the forgotten virtues—to mention only a few—are honesty, truth, courage, thrift, reliability, and respect for property—just the ingredients of goodness. Especially alarming is the general official attitude on this score. Toleration, rationalization, and passive acceptance are the easy ways to side-step the most difficult and surely the greatest responsibility in the rearing of the young. There is such resignation in dealing with the problem that one would almost think that nothing could be done about it. Whatever has made people virtuous, anyway, ex-

cept a fusion of example, precept, and inculcation? There is abundant opportunity for everyone concerned, both teacher and administrator, to use every contact with pupils to cultivate the attainment of morality. The result would be salutary for every school, every community; and who can estimate its far-reaching effect? If there must be committees and meetings and reports, let a composite committee of faculty departments evaluate the instructional material and the school procedures as related to this result. The classicist, we may be sure, would not be found wanting.

Along with cultivation of this sort should go, wherever possible—and I think it is possible with students of Latin calibre—an effort to deepen to a certain degree the contemplative power of the mind. Thus, young persons may be guided in their development of a simple philosophy of life. It is never too early for one to begin to formulate ideas which will lead him to make a real adjustment to life and give him the wisdom to avoid frustration. The valuable member of society is the one who has evolved convictions regarding his own duties and responsibilities and also regarding the real satisfactions of life. Having started thinking, he will reach conclusions about the path which leads to the goal of his own fulfillment. Let us not disregard the opportunities which Cicero and Vergil so profusely offer for the stimulation of enriching thought. Please note that I said 'thought.' Today there is insistent need for explanation and emphasis on the reality of thinking, not the dizzy, radio-ridden process that is all too often mistaken for thinking.

Guidance in the field of social relationships receives greater recognition than any sort of personal philosophy and yet the guidance is often superficial and its quality certainly questionable. Young pupils whose minds are naturally idealistic and impressionable because of lack of counteracting experience become the prey to what I may generously call unintentional but, in any case, damaging inaccuracies and half-truths. For instance, the idea of tolerance is conveyed as nothing more than weak amiability. Pupils quite properly are taught to consider tolerance as the respect due to the opinions of others, but the

other side is omitted—the realization that it should be matched by a courageous defense of one's own convictions. It should never be the sham front for lazy indifference or supine submission. Intolerance, on the other hand, is usually condemned *carte blanche*, as if intolerance of man and intolerance of the things man does were one and the same. Likewise, propaganda is summarily dismissed as all bad, whether it be propaganda for freedom or propaganda for slavery. There is great opportunity for the Latin teacher not only in the handling of reading material but especially in vocabulary building to develop the power of nice distinction and penetrating accuracy.

Finally, I shall dwell for a moment on the adornments of character and learning—culture, refinement, good taste. They are as casually regarded today in the educational set-up as in character-building itself. What is crude, blatant, and coarse flourishes and goes its way almost unmolested. What is suitable to time and place is apparently seldom considered. No one seems to feel the responsibility for going counter to the jazz-movie complex of the adolescent mass. Their unconcealed rebellion against anything which requires discernment or discrimination meets with an opposition so weak that it wilts before the scornful epithet of 'old fashioned' or 'dated.' Easy concurrence has no place where adult judgment should prevail. For the appeal of beauty is no more dead today than it ever was. But it takes hard work and it takes courage, patience, persistence, and enthusiasm to offset this early and continuous conditioning of youth and to establish a state of mind which, at first decently submissive, moves on from toleration to acceptance and then to preference. A program for the progressive development of good taste should be as clearly devised as a program for the improvement of physical health. The response would be gratifying, for when *humanitas* takes, it kindles enthusiasm and becomes a real adornment to life. I can hardly be expected to refrain from mentioning Archias as the superb vehicle for the use of Latin teachers.

These, then, are some of the things about which education should be busy. I can hear many of

you saying that there simply isn't time, especially in the Latin course. The subject itself, not to mention the related material, absorbs every last minute of the scanty time allotment. But the truth is that time is not the essential ingredient, important as it may be. Seriousness of purpose and conscious determination of aim are the forces which will find the way and arouse others to concomitant action. To be sure, fulfillment of the task which I have outlined is not one to be realized or accomplished by the isolated Latin teacher; and yet, failing supporters, it is no task to be neglected by the isolated Latin teacher or by any other teacher. For each Latin teacher who teaches the subject in such a way as to realize its humanizing possibilities will be contributing his bit not only to the vital need of education but will be adding to Latin's perpetuating strength. For when education reverts, as it must, or be blown away as chaff, to its function as the revitalizing force in our national life, there cannot fail to be a final re-evaluation of Latin as one of the great sources from which 'are drawn those things which are noblest.'

* Paper read before the Forty-Second Annual Meeting of the Classical Association of New England held at Amherst College April 2 and 3, 1948.

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REVIEWS

A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri. By LEONARD ROBERT PALMER. Volume I. Accidence and Word Formation, Part I. The Suffixes. xii, 186 pp. (Publications of the Philological Society, XII, London, Oxford University Press, 1945). 15s.

This book, as the title shows, is only Part I of a first volume of what is planned to be a complete Grammar of Post-Ptolemaic Papyri. It is a pretentious undertaking. The author rightly believes that a Grammar of the Papyri will be of great use to students of the Greek of the New Testament. He pays a well deserved tribute to the monumental work of Mayser on the Papyri of the Ptolemaic Period. As it is out of the question to produce a work on the scale of May-

ser's, the author omits detailed meanings and references for each word. A valuable feature of the book under review is the frequent reference to the principal works of mediaeval and modern Greek word-formation, to make clear the main lines of development; for the author is interested in the history of the suffixes.

Although the author is quite aware that his collections of words are not complete, his list is very large. He has made his collections from words found in the lexicographical works of Preisigke and Preisendanz, and some more recent collections of papyri. The manuscript for this book was completed in 1939, and the author tells us that he had no leisure to make use of papyrological material that appeared during the war.

We are able to look up any word through the very full Index of Greek Words, which occupies a space of 37 pages with 4 columns to a page. The care with which the book has been prepared is remarkable; for in this wealth of material, with so many words in Greek type, there are very few errors, even in the matter of accent. A Bibliography of Grammatical Literature precedes the Introduction, in which these topics are discussed; (1) Sounds and Letters, (2) The Analysis of the Vocabulary, and (3) The History of the Suffixes. The first of these sections discusses the matter of spelling and the confusion which arose from the similarities of sound.

The second section is very brief, where reasons are given for dividing the vocabulary into groups according to the original occurrences of the words. He uses this division; (1) Attic and common Greek, i.e. common to all Greek dialects, (2) Poetical-Ionic, (3) Post-Classical, and (4) New. In making such assignments he has used the available lexicographical works, with special reliance upon the new Liddell and Scott; but he finds the latter not altogether reliable in every respect. The division between the last two groups is not essential; and consequently, if groups three and four are added together, Post-Classical words can be contrasted with words of the earlier periods.

Section three is devoted to the history of the suffixes under the heads of (1) Agent Nouns, (2) Verbal Abstracts, (3) Abstract Nouns of Quality, (4) Nouns of Place and Instrument, and (5) Diminutives. Adjective Suffixes are treated next, under the heads of (1) Material Suffixes, (2) Adjectives of Quality, (3) Verbal Adjectives, and (4) Miscellaneous. Last comes the topic of Verbal Suffixes, treated rather briefly.

The body of the work consists of the treatment of individual suffixes in alphabetical order, first in the classification of adjectives, then substantives, and last verbs. In the case of many of these suffixes, a great many words are quoted as examples; and a keynumber indicates the period in which they occur.

I marvel at the immense amount of work that has been done, and the care and attention to detail which were necessary in making the collections and in classifying the material. The work on Morphology is promised and the author already makes references to it in a general way. When the work is complete we shall have a very thorough and useful treatment of the Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri. It should be of great use to scholars of New Testament Greek as well as to papyrologists. One way in which the New Testament scholar can use the present part of the work to great advantage is for the comparison of the use of words in the New Testament and the Papyri.

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I Resti dell'XI Libro del ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ di Epicuro. Edited by Achille Vogliano. x, 61 pp., facsimile of text. (Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie: textes et documents IV; Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, 1940). 30 fr.

The text depends upon two papyri and apographs divided between Naples and the British Museum and exhibiting divergent pagination. The one differs from the other in handwriting and both from books 14 and 28 edited by the

same scholar. As is usual, the beginning is lost and in addition the lower half of each roll had crumbled away, so that not a single column remains entire. Of some 3,000 lines only 400 survive. The subscriptions of both rolls are preserved, making the identification sure.

The topic is celestial phenomena and the writing is polemical. Controverted views are left anonymous but mention of a drum-shaped earth (p. 29) points to Leucippus. References to the theory that the earth is surrounded by mountainous ramparts (p. 29) according to the editor, suggest Anaximenes, Democritus and Archelaus. Incidentally, the reader may wonder whether Lucretius is speaking by the book when he writes *flammanitia moenia mundi* or merely indulging in a fine fancy. Judgment suspended. A seeming reference to a sort of planetarium (p. 37), if confirmed, would anticipate an invention of Archimedes. Contact with Lucretius 5.534-38 seems certain in the last pages (43-9), where the

stability of the earth is discussed. Epicurus seems to have favored support rather than suspension but it was not his way to be dogmatic in this field.

All this does not add up to much. Usener called such fragments of information *scintillae Epicuri* but since the spark theory was distinctly Stoic it might be more appropriate to think of these truncated papyri as examples of atoms and void. This fact, however, should not diminish our gratitude to the editor, whose competence has long been acknowledged. His notes and comments are a model of scholarly care and caution. It is to be hoped that he may be spared to round off his labors on this great work of Epicurus, as he has planned. It was in working over these same rolls that Gomperz went blind.

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